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INDIA

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A Radio Discussion by

- GEORGE BOBRINSKOY
- WALTER CLARK
- QUINCY WRIGHT

424th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY • 212

APRIL 5, 1942

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

Published weekly. 10 cents a copy; five copies, 25 cents; full-year subscription, 52 issues, two dollars. Published by the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Entered as second-class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

No. 212

NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

INDIA

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

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* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago, over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, April 5, 1942, at 1:30 P.M., Central War Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

INDIA

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Negotiations between Sir Stafford Cripps and the Indian leaders in an effort to arrive at agreement upon India's future status and to enlist all India behind the present war are only immediate aspects of a century-old problem.

What is India? What has made this great subcontinent of such great importance today? What about India's economic and industrial potential? What are the divisions within India—political, social, and religious? And what about home rule for India?

To answer many of these questions which have again entered the spotlight in recent weeks, the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE *invited three expert observers to its microphone to discuss: "India."*

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MR. WRIGHT: Mahatma Gandhi's statement that the proposal by Sir Stafford Cripps (who has been sent by Great Britain to negotiate with India's leaders) is too little and too late is a matter of the very greatest importance to the United Nations and to the United States.[1]

MR. CLARK: But Britain must look at the present situation not from the point of view of politics but from the point of view of present military strategy.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: To amplify your statement, I would say that if Japan attacked and occupied the island of Ceylon, just to the south of India, she would be in position to threaten the entire line of communications of the Allies in the Middle East. The situation would be very dangerous indeed.[2]

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[1] *In New Delhi, India, April 4, 1942, Mohandas K. Gandhi approved the following statement in regard to the proposals made by Sir Stafford Cripps: "The belated—far too belated—declaration [of the British, offering post-war dominion status] failed to evoke enthusiasm because of the British refusal, which cannot be understood, even at this late hour, to install a truly national government, inviting it to take up responsibility for defense.*

"The [nationalist] leaders feel they cannot prevent hostility to Britain unless the masses feel that the war is a peoples war and the government is a peoples government."

[2] *An attack upon Colombo, in Ceylon, on April 5, 1942, was driven off by British air-force fighters with a reported destruction of 27 Japanese planes. Many other planes, damaged by antiaircraft fire, were also possible casualties.*

MR. WRIGHT: Let's discuss the strategic importance of India to the United Nations. I think it is true that India is of great strategic importance. The safety of the Suez Canal, which is so important in the Near East, is involved, since the conquest of India by Japan would make possible an attack upon the routes to the Suez Canal.

MR. CLARK: India might also serve as a base for an attack upon the Japanese. Troops might be sent to China and might push back the Japanese until the Allies could obtain air fields from which Japan itself might be attacked.

MR. WRIGHT: And, furthermore, we can't send supplies to China unless we have access through India, which now constitutes the main route of supply to the interior of China since the closing of the Burma Road.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: The Indian army itself is very important. As you know, more than a million men are under arms right now. Of these, some have already seen active service and have acquitted themselves very well.

MR. WRIGHT: They have been very important in Lybia, in Egypt, and in Syria, have they not?

MR. BOBRINSKOY: They certainly have.

MR. WRIGHT: But can this vast reservoir of manpower in India be tapped to a very great extent? Could we, for instance, raise an army of three or four million men in India?

MR. CLARK: We might raise an army of seven or eight million men if it could be properly equipped. It would depend for its heavy equipment on the Allies.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: It would also depend on whether the lines of communications would be open at that time.

MR. WRIGHT: That raises a great problem of shipping. But I understand that India is now supplying about 90 per cent of her own army with small arms.[3]

MR. BOBRINSKOY: That is quite true, but in heavy equipment the situation is quite different. All that must be imported.

MR. WRIGHT: There is another very important aspect of the Indian situation, and that is the significance of the Atlantic Charter. This has said the war is for democracy and the unity of nations. If India is

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[3] *Indian shipyards are producing mine-sweepers and corvettes, with a total of 30,000 workers reported engaged in this recently instituted war project.*

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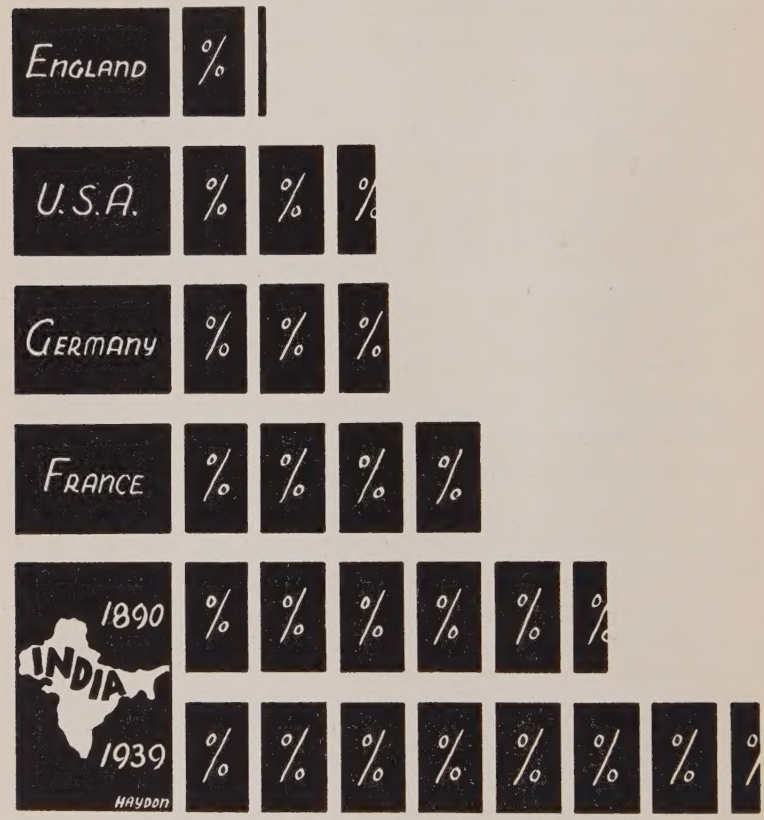
LIVING ON THE SOIL

Per Cent of Populations Deriving Their Livelihood from Agriculture



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 10 PER CENT

SOURCE: K. S. SHELVANKAR, "THE PROBLEM OF INDIA," P. 89

looked upon as an example of imperialism, it is very bad both for Indian morale and for the morale of the United Nations.

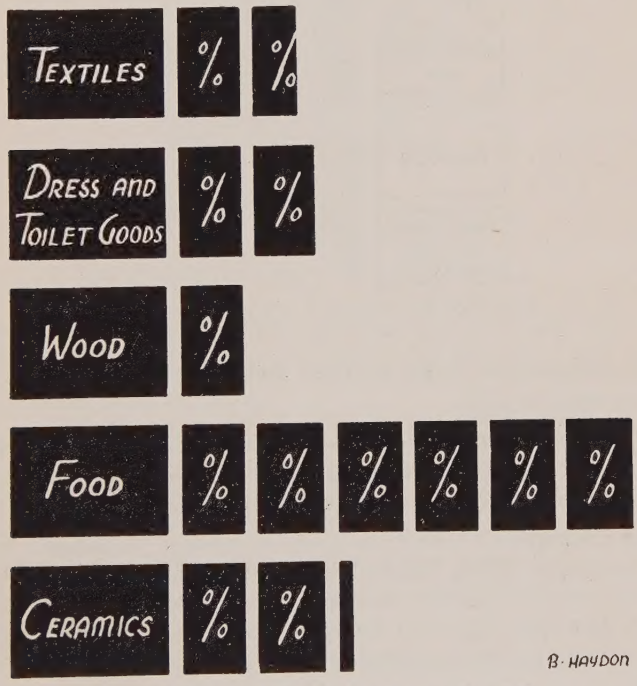
MR. CLARK: Under present circumstances it seems to me that the Atlantic Charter must apply to other countries than those bordering on the Atlantic. President Roosevelt and Mr. Amery have so interpreted it.

MR. WRIGHT: I think it's very important to recall that, because there

THE DE-INDUSTRIALIZATION OF INDIA

The Per Cent of Decline in Employment in Five Leading Industries, 1911–31

"The profits of various artisan classes have been diminished owing to the growing competition of machine-made goods . . . . with the result that these classes show a growing tendency to abandon their traditional occupations in favor of agriculture" (*"Census of India Report, 1911"*).



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 5 PER CENT

SOURCE: "CENSUS OF INDIA REPORTS"

was a time when it was suggested that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to the East.[4]

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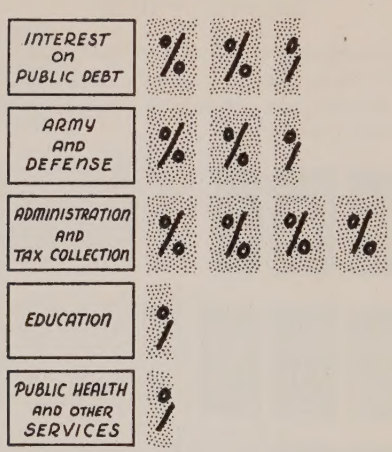
[4] *According to the "London Times," Winston Churchill, shortly after his return from the meeting in the Atlantic, stated in the House of Commons that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to India.*

MAJOR EXPENDITURES OF INDIAN REVENUE



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 10 PER CENT

MR. BOBRINSKOY: In any case now, there is unanimity on this subject: it must apply to India.

MR. WRIGHT: And that means we must bring about a unanimous opinion that our aims are being realized in all sections of the world. The Axis powers, of course, are taking advantage of that.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: Quite so. There is constant propaganda by the Axis powers, promising India full independence, but I believe that Bose and some of his followers, who have gone over to the Axis, have completely lost their influence.[5] Although they may have some secret adherents, they are not dangerous right now.

MR. CLARK: Bose, who was once president of the Congress and mayor of Calcutta, did go over to the Axis, but he now has little political influence. Most Indians do not take the promises of the Nazis or the Japanese seriously.

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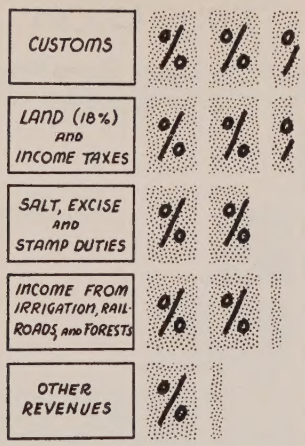
[5] *Subhas Chandra Bose, former president of the Indian National Congress, who has recently been broadcasting for the Axis, was reported (in Japanese dispatches) killed in an airplane crash. German sources report Bose still alive, and broadcasts by him, possibly by transcription, continue.*

MAJOR SOURCES OF INDIAN REVENUE



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 10 PER CENT

MR. WRIGHT: That has been emphatically stated by both Nehru, the political leader of the Congress party, and by Gandhi, has it not?

MR. BOBRINSKOY: Quite so.

MR. WRIGHT: But we have the question of India's economic significance today. India is important not only because of its strategic position and because of its ideological importance but because it has vast resources—great mines of iron and coal. Are these very important?

MR. BOBRINSKOY: The mines themselves are very important, the iron reserves are very great, and the coal supply is sufficient. Yet these industries are hardly developed.[6]

MR. CLARK: The coal and the iron deposits are all situated within a radius of two hundred miles of Calcutta, and so are the heavy industries. They are within range of attack by Japan.

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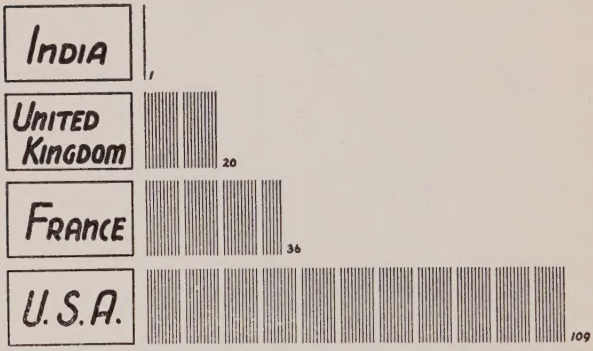
[6] *India's reserves of iron are estimated at 3,000,000,000 tons; her reserves of coal total 36,000,000,000 tons. India's pig-iron production rose from 1,600,000 tons in 1939 to 2,000,000 tons in 1941. Output of steel has increased from 867,000 tons in 1939 to 1,250,000 tons in 1941 and is expected to reach 1,400,000 tons in 1942. India also produces sizable quantities of copper, manganese, silver, oil, mica, and cement. India is dependent upon imports, however, for most of its petroleum supplies as well as for iron and steel and machinery.*

ANNUAL EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION

A Comparison of Per Capita Expenditures in India and Other Countries



EACH VERTICAL LINE REPRESENTS INDIA'S TOTAL FEDERAL, PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL EXPENDITURE PER CAPITA: 18 CENTS

SOURCE: K. S. SHELVANKAR, "THE PROBLEM OF INDIA"

MR. WRIGHT: These resources are at the head of the Bay of Bengal, within three hundred miles of the present front.

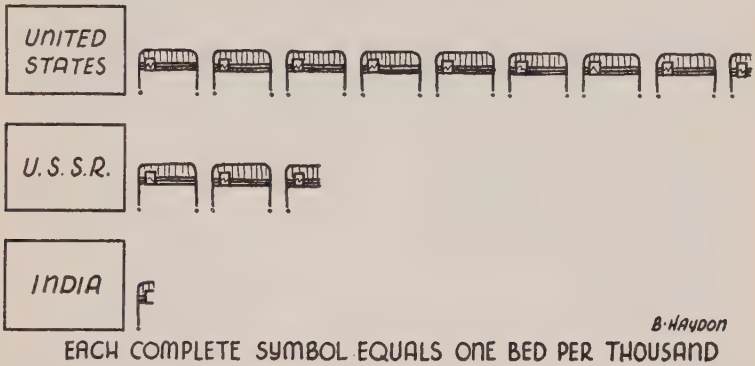
MR. CLARK: And the Japanese would not meet much serious resistance in the eastern part of India.

MR. WRIGHT: To summarize to the point we have reached, we have said that the strategic importance of India is very great to the United Nations. India has vast resources of manpower. It has also great resources of iron, coal, and other materials, but these are relatively slightly developed. The industrialization of India has made only slight progress. Nevertheless, all these aspects make India extremely important.

And now let's consider the social and the economic relations of India and Britain.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: The first contact between Britain and India took place early in the seventeenth century, but there was not very much importance attached to that, because the East Indian Company was a commercial proposition.

MR. WRIGHT: We have the question of how much the British, in their relations to India, have assisted India in modernizing herself and making



her a country ripe for self-government. For instance, there is a problem of education and literacy.

MR. CLARK: Education has been almost exclusively literary. Little effort was made to build up elementary education, technical education and training, and agricultural education.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: So there is some basis, Clark, then, in the usual complaint made that the education provided was not of a suitable nature?

MR. CLARK: There is an increasing demand in India for practical education for modern life.

MR. WRIGHT: Only about 12 per cent of the population is literate, is it not?[7]

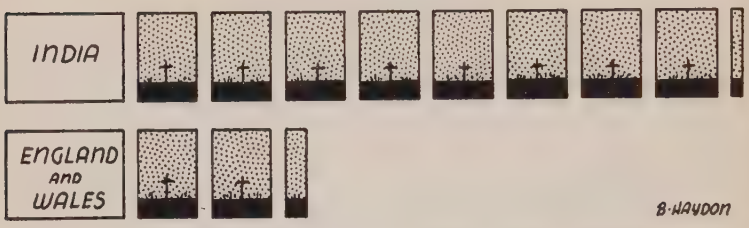
MR. BOBRINSKOY: Quite so; and only about 2 per cent of the population can read and speak English.

MR. WRIGHT: Considering that we have usually held that a high degree of literacy is important for democracy, that, of course, is a very important point. But, from the point of view of public health, the British have done a great deal for India, have they not?

MR. BOBRINSKOY: Yes, indeed. The mortality rate, while still very

[7] *India's literacy rate, one of the lowest in the world, increased during the interval between the census of 1931 and the census of 1941 from 9.5 per cent to 12.5 per cent.*

INFANT MORTALITY: ENGLAND AND INDIA (1935)



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 20 DEATHS PER 1,000 BIRTHS

high, has declined; and the population increases at the rate of about five million a year.[8]

MR. WRIGHT: It's doubled since the British took major control in 1858, I believe.[9]

MR. CLARK: The birth rate is also very high and is likely to remain very high until the age of marriage increases.

MR. WRIGHT: But the old problem of famines and epidemics that used to sweep off large sections of the population before the British rule has been pretty well mastered, has it not?[10]

MR. BOBRINSKOY: It is under control.

MR. WRIGHT: The social structure of India is a feature in which I suppose all Americans are interested. We've heard so much about the system of castes.

MR. CLARK: Caste is an obstacle to democracy, but I doubt if caste is a political obstacle. Back of caste is the idea that men are not born equal and cannot be legislated into equality; that a society must recognize this and organize on the basis of inequality.

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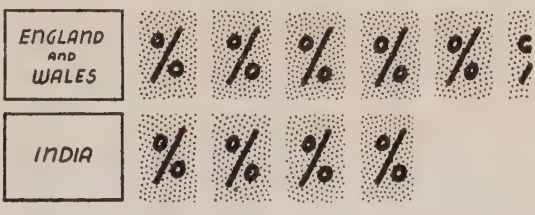
[8] *Between the census of 1921 and the census of 1931 the population of India increased by 34,000,000, or at an annual rate of 3,400,000.*

[9] *The first census of India was taken in 1872. For a comparison of rates of population increase see the illustration on next page.*

[10] *Between 1851 and 1875 there were six famines in India. Between 1876 and 1900 there were twenty-four famines. For estimates of deaths from famine during the nineteenth century see the illustration on page 19. Since 1900 the largest single cause of death was the influenza pandemic of 1918, in which 14,000,000 Indians died.*

INCREASE IN POPULATION: 1871–1931



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 10 PER CENT INCREASE

The "Census of India Report, 1931," notes that territorial changes and change in methods of computation reduce India's absolute population growth to 31.7 per cent.

MR. WRIGHT: That doesn't sound very democratic to me. It sounds like a social theory which approaches more that of the Nazis than it does that of democracy.

MR. CLARK: Nehru, himself, is an idealist, with leanings toward democracy and toward socialism. He advises that the door of advancement be open to all, but it will take much effort and many years before the structure of caste breaks down.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: And in the meantime the twenty-five hundred different castes still play a most important role.

MR. WRIGHT: Did you say twenty-five hundred castes?

MR. BOBRINSKOY: That's right. There are five main classes but twenty-five hundred castes.

MR. CLARK: And these are groups which will not intermarry.

MR. WRIGHT: We have also heard much about the untouchables. That is the lowest of the classes, is it not?

MR. CLARK: The untouchables number from forty to sixty millions, depending on definition and the line of demarcation drawn between them and the Sudras.[11]

MR. WRIGHT: Well, these features of Indian society which we have been discussing have a bearing upon the potentialities of democracy in India, but the great problem which is being emphasized by the Congress party is this: Has Britain exploited India? Do you think it has?

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[11] *The Sudras were the lowest group at the time of the Aryan settlement of India. The untouchables were those who in later centuries dropped below all other castes.*

Mr. Bobrinskoy: Only a qualified answer can be given. I believe that in the first part of its contact with India the element of exploitation was much more predominant. Lately, it has tended to diminish.

Mr. Wright: What do you mean by "exploitation"?

Mr. Bobrinskoy: Activity directed toward the acquisition of profit without regard to the proper development of the nation so exploited.

Mr. Clark: The trouble is that in any imperialism effort is likely to be spent on the building-up of a smoothly running machinery to maintain peace and law and order and to adopt a laissez faire attitude in regard to the internal development of the colonies.

Mr. Wright: You mean that the imperial power will preserve the status quo and not promote progress in the country. But some might say that is a nonimperialistic policy. Some might say that imperialism means the imposition of a foreign culture and way of life upon a backward people. Now, if you say the British have not done this, wouldn't that be a count in favor of the British?

Mr. Clark: The British have not made much positive effort to encourage industry in India, especially heavy industry; and there has been some positive discouragement. India has always been a producer of raw materials and a market for manufactured goods.[12]

Mr. Wright: And your point would be that in the modern sense it's necessary for a country that wishes to survive and be an independent nation to become, to a considerable extent, industrialized.

Mr. Bobrinskoy: That would be the point, indeed. But Gandhi, on the other hand, always goes back to his idea of decentralization and deindustrialization.

Mr. Wright: To summarize this section of our discussion, I think we realize that the exploitation of India is a very complicated problem. "Exploitation" is, itself, an ambiguous term. Britain, it's true, has profited

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[12] *For instance, it is reported that Indian businessmen offered to finance the building of an engine factory in cooperation with Chrysler but, failing to obtain guaranties that the engines would be purchased by the government, were forced to abandon the scheme. Indian shipbuilders until recently were unable to obtain contracts for ships, according to other reports (see "Business Week," March 21, 1942, pp. 41–42). The effects of imported manufactured goods upon India's artisan class is shown in the illustration on page 5. Trends in British exports to India are shown in the illustration on page 18.*

INDIA'S PUBLIC DEBT

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 100,000,000 POUNDS

SOURCE: R. PALME DUTT, "INDIA TODAY," P. 140

from India in the past, but Britain has also given many advantages to India.

But now let's consider the immediate political relationships of Britain and India.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: The foremost question there is: Did Britain bring unity and order? Clark, what is your opinion on that subject?

MR. CLARK: There was little unity in India in its past history. At only two or three periods in the past was there an empire which ruled a very large part of India.

MR. WRIGHT: That is far in the past, isn't it?

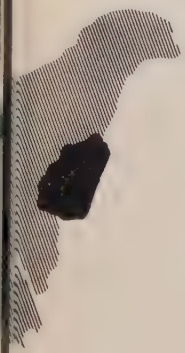
MR. CLARK: Three thousand years or more. I should say that the whole modern trend toward unity in India and the thought of India as a united nation developed under the British.

MR. WRIGHT: In other words, in this vast period of over three thousand years there is no period of any substantial length when the whole of India was united, until the British came in. And what about the British when they did begin to unify it?

MR. BOBRINSKOY: This came gradually, and the process really was not completed until 1849. Then came the Indian Mutiny of 1857; the East

MAPS DRAWN FOR THE UNIV

THIS IS INDIA



PROVINCES

1. Northwest Frontier
2. Punjab
3. Sind
4. United Provinces
5. Bihar
6. Bengal
7. Assam
8. Central Provinces
9. Bombay
10. Orissa
11. Madras

NATIVE STATES

A. Kashmir and Jammu
B. Baluchistan
C. Patiala
D. Bahawalpur
E. Khairpur
F. Rajputana
G. Gwalior
H. Indore and Bhopal
J. States of Western India
K. Bundelkhand
L. Cooch Behar
M. Shillong
N. Manipur
O. Tripura
P. Bastar
Q. Hyderabad
R. Mysore
S. Coorg
T. Cochin
U. Travancore

PORTUGUESE AND FRENCH POSSESSIONS

1 → Diu (Port.)
2 → Daman (Port.)
3 → Goa (Port.)
4 → Mahé (Fr.)
5 → Karikal (Fr.)
6 → Pondichéry (Fr.)
7 → Yanam (Fr.)
8 → Chandernagore (Fr.)

GO ROUND TABLE BY B. HAYDON

India Company ceased to exist; and the Empire took over.[13] From that time on, India may be considered as absolutely united.

MR. WRIGHT: And since the first World War we have had considerable progress in moving this unity of India toward self-government and democracy, have we not?

MR. BOBRINSKOY: Yes. Step after step has been taken in that direction, although, of course, the Indian parties, particularly the Congress party, have complained that this progress was much too slow.

MR. CLARK: We must remember that India is as big as Europe, omitting Russia, and that Europe has never developed into a single united state.

MR. WRIGHT: That's a very important point, and your emphasis is that the differentials in religion and national attitude among the various groups in India is corresponding to that in Europe as a whole.

But what about the Government of India Act of 1935? That was intended to give a real federal organization to India.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: Yes, it was so intended. But the federal part of it never materialized because of various obstacles, particularly the protests of the princes (the rulers of the native states), who were afraid that their rights might be swept away in such a reorganization.[14]

MR. WRIGHT: So that the Act of 1935 never went into effect so far as the government, the central government, of India is concerned?

MR. BOBRINSKOY: Yes, that's true. On the other hand, in its provincial applications it went into effect and achieved considerable success.

MR. CLARK: This means that so far as present independence or present dominion status is concerned, there is no adequate central organization

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[13] *The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 "was the first crude expression of Indian nationalism" and in certain respects appeared designed to "revive the Mahratta and Mogul dynasties." The East India Company was compensated when India was taken over by the Crown. The main constitutional change "was that the responsibility of Parliament was exercised through a secretary of state assisted by an advisory council" ("Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences," VII, 662–63).*

[14] *Under the plan for federation projected by the Government of India Act of 1935 the princes would have selected 30 per cent of the representatives to the lower house and about 34 per cent of the representatives to the upper house, despite the fact their states contain only about one-quarter of the population of India. Nevertheless, at the Indian Princes' Conference in June, 1939, the princes rejected the proposed terms for their entry into the federation.*

or adequate military organization which might take over the rule of India.

MR. WRIGHT: But I think the success of the Congress governments in the provinces, which acted responsibly from 1937 to 1939, is an important fact to have in mind, because it indicates a capacity for self-government on the part of the Indians.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: And it certainly makes us feel much more optimistic toward possibilities of an adjustment. On the other hand, the difficulties which face India are, by the admission of everybody, immense.

MR. WRIGHT: These governments in the provinces broke down on the outbreak of war in 1939 because of differences between the Congress party and the British administration.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: It was the declaration of war by the viceroy, without consultation with the provincial assemblies, that caused this declaration on the part of the Congress party and caused the Congress ministries to step out.

MR. CLARK: In 1939 the Congress party made the following statement: "A free, democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defense against aggression and for economic cooperation." This was refused consideration in London.

MR. WRIGHT: And the result was that the Indian governments in the provinces all resigned, and the government of India again became (one might call it) a despotism under the control of the viceroy.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: A benevolent despotism, I'd like to qualify.

MR. WRIGHT: Yes. But the elements of self-government were, for the time being, suspended. But, as I recall, the viceroy said at the time that this was only temporary and began to make new pledges of complete home rule for India after the war was over.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: That is true. But the Indians always demanded something more concrete and pointed back to the experiences of the last war, when promises of about the same nature were made and, at least in the opinion of the Indians, were not lived up to.

MR. WRIGHT: Well, were their efforts at non-cooperation so serious that it justified the British in making a good many arrests, as I believe they did, in 1940?[15]

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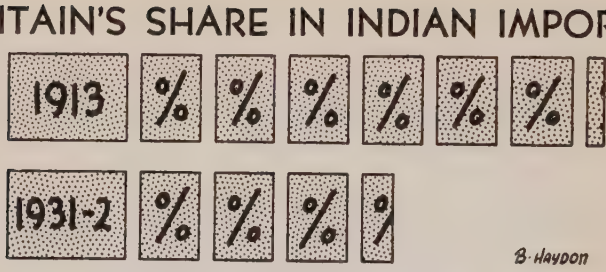
[15] *According to T. A. Raman, writing in "Asia" (August, 1941), five thousand political prisoners were being held by the British authorities.*



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 10 PER CENT

NOTE.—*The Ottawa Agreements (1932) had the immediate effect of increasing Britain's share to 40 per cent in 1933, since which time it has declined. The administrative separation of Burma makes these later data not comparable to the above.*—EDITOR.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: The British at least so believed, because they were afraid that in many cases the example of the leaders would lead to a spread of a seditious movement.

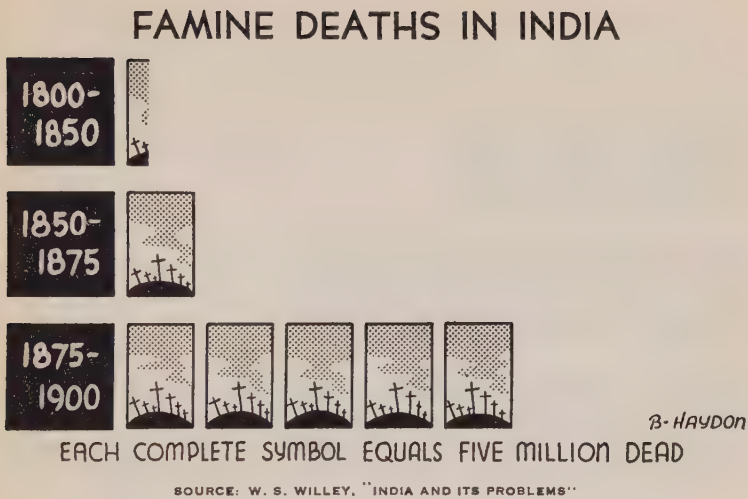
MR. WRIGHT: So, to sum up, we had increasing friction between the British administration and the Congress party since the war began.

And, now, the Cripps proposals are designed to meet this serious situation and bring about a cooperation of all elements in India. How do you interpret these new proposals?

MR. CLARK: In the East no transaction can be closed immediately. There must be much talk and much bargaining. I am not too pessimistic about the present situation.

MR. WRIGHT: I suppose we could say that Cripps made more concrete promises of dominion status after the war than had been made by any previous British official, although there have been many such proposals. He also (and this struck me as a very important addition) recognized the right of secession by minorities. Furthermore, he insisted that a constitution could well be formed by an elected constitutional assembly, but (and this is a point that the Indians stick at) he said Britain must retain control of India's defense during the war. Now, what is the opposition to these proposals that we have had from the various groups in India?

MR. BOBRINSKOY: Well, first of all comes the opposition of the Congress party, which says that a promise of dominion status after the war is not enough. They would like to see independence or dominion status given right now. However, I'm inclined to believe that they will compromise on that.



Mr. Clark: The leaders are idealists, and the emotional intensity of the idea may tempt them to carry it out regardless of practical consequences.

Mr. Wright: But you have a lack of complete confidence in British promises on the part of the Congress party, which they think is justified because there were such long delays in the past of carrying out the various British promises of home rule. What about the Moslems? Do they like these new proposals?

Mr. Bobrinskoy: The Moslems like the new proposals because for the first time the British government has promised, definitely, that an effort at secession will not be resisted, but perhaps even definitely supported.

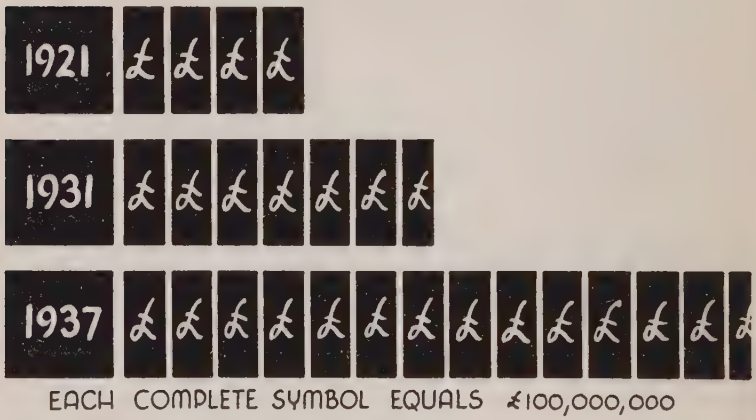
Mr. Clark: The Moslems constitute between one-quarter and one-fifth of the total population of India and are only about one-third as numerous as the Hindus. They fear the large Hindu majority.

Mr. Wright: Well, would you say that the Moslems are really represented by the Moslem League, as it's called, whose president is, I believe, Jinnah? Does that group properly speak for all the Moslems of India?

Mr. Clark: It speaks for only a very small proportion. The figure I have seen is one-quarter.

I would like to say in this connection that the great majority, probably

AGRICULTURAL DEBTS OF INDIAN PEASANTS



SOURCES: 1921 FIGURES, DARLING, "THE PUNJAB PEASANT IN PROSPERITY AND DEBT"; 1931 FIGURES, CENTRAL BANKING ENQUIRY COMMITTEE REPORT; 1937 FIGURES, THE REPORT OF THE AGRICULTURAL CREDIT DEPARTMENT OF THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA.

85 per cent, of the Moslems are not descendants of Moslems who invaded India. They are descendants of Hindus who were converted to Mohammedanism.

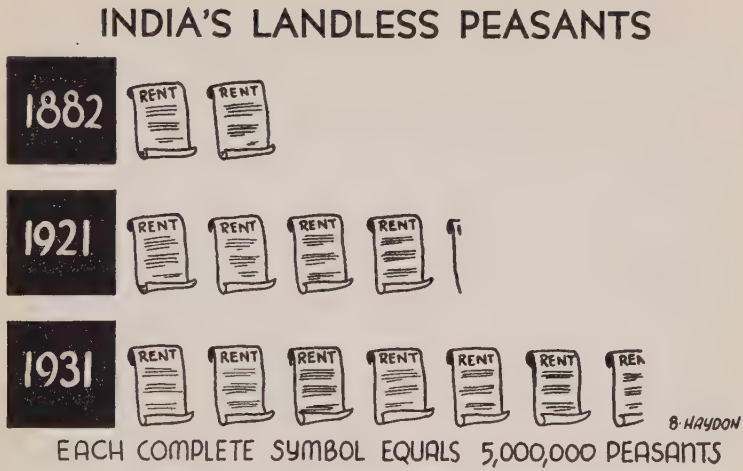
MR. WRIGHT: Would you imply from this that they are primarily Indians and only secondarily Moslems?

MR. CLARK: Hindu blood flows in their veins. I think that gradually the Moslems are coming to think of themselves first as Indians and second as Moslems. There is very little Pan-Islamic spirit in India.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: Nevertheless, I would like to point out that these same Moslems at times can become perfectly infuriated against any minor encroachment upon their rights and traditions, and all sorts of very dangerous conflicts have occurred in the past between the Hindus and the Moslems.

MR. CLARK: Some of those conflicts have their origin in either political or economic situations.

MR. WRIGHT: What has been the progress on this "communal" problem, as it's called? Have the Moslems and the Hindus been getting farther and farther apart as time has gone on, or have they been showing more of a willingness to conciliate?



Mr. Clark: I think it has intensified the desire of each party to gain as many as it can for its community.

Mr. Wright: I'll have to confess that as time has gone on it has seemed to me that the Moslem intransigence has become somewhat greater, and I read a statement which was made by Gandhi in a recent interview he had with an Englishman, in which he admitted that probably if the British got out entirely there would be a period of civil strife in India between the Hindus and Moslems.[16]

Mr. Bobrinskoy: I believe the danger of that is present, and that is why the British are introducing that clause guaranteeing the right of secession of any state which does not belong, does not want to belong, to the new union.

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[16] *Sir Evelyn Wrench, writing in the "Spectator" (March 6, 1942), quotes the following exchange in an interview recorded by Gandhi's secretary:* "Sir Evelyn: . . . . *Would there not be civil war if we were to withdraw [from India]?* Gandhi: . . . . *I have said you should retire and we shall have a pact in fifteen days. There may be civil war; it is highly probable there will be, but at the end of it there will be peace.* Sir Evelyn: *At the end of all war there is peace.* Gandhi: *Your proposition is wrong. You can only have lasting peace based on justice. We are an unarmed people. . . . . It is the politically conscious Muslims and Hindus who will fight. They will fight with sticks, staves, and soda-water bottles, but they will soon tire, and there will be wise men enough among us to bring about an honourable peace.*"

MR. WRIGHT: But isn't the danger in that that the very essence of the Congress party's demand is the unity of India? The Congress party has Western ideas of democracy, and it also wishes to establish the independence of India. The point of unity is very important.

MR. CLARK: I doubt if the majority of Moslems would vote for an independent Pakistan.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: You are quite right. There is, of course, a subdivision in the Moslem League. For instance, an important part of it is represented by such a man as Sir Sikhander Hyat Khan, at the present time prime minister of the Punjab. And he's much more moderate in his views than Jinnah.

MR. CLARK: The most overwhelmingly Moslem province, the Northwest Frontier Province, sides with the Congress and not with Jinnah.

MR. WRIGHT: You used the word "Pakistan." Do I understand that that would be an independent state which some of the Moslems are suggesting?

MR. BOBRINSKOY: That is Jinnah's interpretation, but Sir Sikhander Hyat Khan, on the other hand, has repeatedly stated that he is against such a Pakistan and that he would be in favor of zones in India, a zone of Mohammedan influence and a zone of Hindu influence—a much milder suggestion.[17]

MR. WRIGHT: And, of course, the Congress party says they are following the theory of Abraham Lincoln that unity should be put above everything. They don't want to have anything to do with the idea of Pakistan.

Now there are also the states. We have heard about the maharajahs, who rule the independent states.

MR. CLARK: The native states cover one-third of the area of India and contain one-fourth of the population. They number almost six hundred, but only twenty or thirty of these are of any importance politically. Britain is bound to them by treaty obligation. Britain cannot depose the princes and convert the states to democracy immediately.[18] Some Indians

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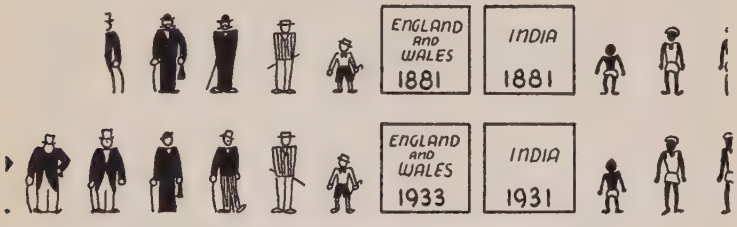
[17] *Recent reports state that Sir Sikhander Hyat Khan has deserted the Moslem League and has added the support of the Punjab Province to those already behind the Indian National Congress party.*

[18] *There are about 560 Indian states. They range in size from Hyderabad, which is as large as Italy, with a population of more than 14,000,000, to the Simla Hill States, which are only a few square miles in area. There are 108 major states whose*

LIFE-EXPECTANCY: ENGLAND AND INDIA



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 10 YEARS

SOURCE: "CENSUS OF INDIA REPORT, 1931"

say that since promises have been broken in the past by the British government, its promises to the native states might be broken. This is not a fair point of view.

MR. WRIGHT: One might say, then, that the states constitute a bloc distinct from either the Moslems or the Hindus, whose main demand is the preservation of their treaty rights with Britain.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: That is quite right. They followed the same policy in 1935 and 1937.

MR. WRIGHT: And then we have the British, who, of course, have interests; but I would say that the prime British interest at present is to win the war.

MR. BOBRINSKOY: I am quite sure of that, and it makes me hopeful that a compromise can be reached. The British, I think, will go as far as they can to compromise with the Congress party. They might agree on some form of defense minister. The man of whom I have spoken already, Sir Sikhander Hyat Khan, has been mentioned by Hindus as perhaps an acceptable candidate for that position—a candidate acceptable both to the Hindus and to the Moslems.

MR. CLARK: The British fear that immediate independence or immediate dominion status would result in much disorder and political controversy.

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rulers are directly included in the Chamber of Princes. There are 127 minor states which indirectly return twelve representatives, and the remaining states are feudal landholds with limited jurisdiction.

MR. WRIGHT: Well, I think we recognize that this problem is an extremely complicated one. It is a problem which is important to all the United Nations.

British-Indian relations have been intertwined for centuries. India has some cause for complaint of British behavior in the past, but there has been much progress toward the unity of India, and that is a real contribution the British have made to India. Much progress has been made toward self-government, particularly since the first World War, and the promises of dominion status were made as early as 1919.

There are divergencies between the Congress party, representing mainly the Hindus (although not entirely); between the Moslems; between the native states; and between the British—but these seem not to be unsusceptible of reconciliation, given good will on all sides.

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QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on pages 24–25.

*

1. What is the military and economic importance of India to the war effort of the United Nations? What would be the effect of the Japanese seizure of the Calcutta area and Ceylon? Discuss.
2. Does Indian internal dissension justify not granting India full independence at the present time? In your opinion, is the threat of Japanese aggression sufficient to create Indian unity and lessen the importance of internal conflicts?
3. On the short-wave broadcasts the Axis promises India full independence. How great an effort should be made to bring India fully into the war on the side of the United Nations?
4. What have been the economic relations between Great Britain and India? Discuss.
5. Is the caste system a barrier to Indian unity? Can the religious differences be adjusted to the necessity for unity?
6. What is the Indian National Congress party? Who are its members and leaders? What are the objectives of the party?
7. What are the present political relations between India and Great Britain? What has been the attitude of the various Indian groups toward the war? What has been the attitude of the different Indian groups toward the proposals made by Sir Stafford Cripps?
8. Would you say that India and China will become increasingly important in the world-scene? Is it possible that the war will mark the end of imperialism? Discuss.

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. What was Gandhi's reply to the proposal for post-war Indian dominion status made by Sir Stafford Cripps? Page 2.
2. What would be the danger from Japanese seizure of the island of Ceylon? Page 2.
3. How large is the Indian army? How large an army might be raised? Page 3.
4. Where are the heavy industries of India located? Page 7.
5. How large is the yearly Indian population increase? Page 10.
6. What is the basic idea of the caste system? About how many castes are there in India? Pages 10–11.
7. What has been the British attitude toward industry in India? Page 12.
8. In what way did India enter the war in 1939? What offer did the Congress party make at that time? Page 17.
9. What is the importance of the native states? Pages 22–23.

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*

Trouble in Oil

I heard your ROUND TABLE discussion on the radio today. The common people hear lectures every day about the American people being asleep and not rallying to help the nation. I think the trouble with America is that one half doesn't know how the other half lives.

This part of Texas is an oil center. The first thing that Mr. Ickes did was shut down the oil fields. The people living here depend on their monthly wage to live. They all sat here and waited on Washington to make up its mind about oil production. After you sit around for thirty days you live up all the money you have and can't move fifty miles to a job if there were one. Any number of people here went to California and various places to work in defense. When they got there they found they had to buy jobs.

What the people of the Panhandle can't understand is: Why, in time of war, when oil and gas are essential to our war machine, do they shut down the production of gas and oil?

Instead of always trying to figure why people are asleep, try to figure how they can get at some of this defense work! Give them a little assurance, and you will have more help than you'll know what to do with. We may not know just how to build an airplane now, but never let it be said that Mr. and Mrs. Wage-Earner can't learn!

H. S., Texas

*

The American Temper

"The American Temper" has not yet begun to show itself—if it had there wouldn't be this fiddling around by a gang of loafers in the government offices while boys are being killed. . . . .

A. W., Washington, D.C.

*

The ultimate difficulty . . . . is a general lack of confidence in the leadership at Washington, for which the President must largely be held responsible.

L. A. C., Michigan

*

The subject was thoroughly understood and . . . . these men certainly had a clear insight into the temper of the people.

Why can't Washington see and understand and do something about it?

M. J. L., Mississippi

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[PRINTED IN U·S·A]